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VOL. II, No. 9

MONDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1918

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VOL. XII

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 16, 1918

No. 9

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY RECENT ADDITIONS

(Concluded from pages 50 and 58)

Professor Miller's translation of the plays of Seneca is a better piece of work (it is commended by A. D. G. [= A. D. Godley?] in *The Classical Review* 31.201). Professor Miller had published, through the University of Chicago Press, a metrical version of Seneca's plays; in this present version, newly done in prose, trisyllable lines and Alexandrines frequently appear, and in many places, by a slight change here and there, passages in blank verse could be produced. Good as the version is, I note here and there inaccuracies. Within the first fifty lines of the *Medea* I note the following. In 23-25 the text runs thus:

me coniugem optet quoque non aliud quam
peius precari, liberos similes patri
similesque matri

In rendering this by "may he desire me for wife, and, than which I can pray for nothing worse, may his children be like their sire and like their mother", Professor Miller ignores the syntax of *liberos . . . matri*. Miss Ella Isabel Harris, in her verse rendering (Oxford University Press, 1904), also missed the syntax: let him, in vain, seek alien doors, and long for me, his wife! And, yet a last revenge, let him beget Sons like their father, daughters like their mother!

Seneca is here highly rhetorical—but his rhetoric is not wholly bad. Normally, it is a fine wish to say, 'May he pray for children like their sire and like their mother'. Here *Medea* prays that Jason may sink so low and suffer so grievously that he will count it gain and will pray for it as a boon—to have *Medea* (again) as wife, and children bad as he is himself and bad as *Medea* is!

Professor Miller's "But" (26) has no counterpart in the Latin. Again, he renders 35-36 by "then let Corinth . . . be consumed . . .". As a matter of fact these verses are the conclusion of a future less vivid condition, whose protasis is the imperative sentence in 32-34. In 40, Professor Miller's phrase "*Amid the very entrails seek thou a way for punishment*" lacks entirely the definiteness of the original, besides doing less than justice to *per*; the sense is 'Through their very vitals', etc. With *viscera*, sc. *victimarum*, out of 39; then identify the *victimae* by means of *thalamo*, 37.

Professor Gummere's translation of the *Epistulae Morales* of Seneca, *Epistulae* I-LXV, I found good

reading, at once accurate and vigorous, and giving well the manner of Seneca. A similar verdict is recorded by Professor Roger Miller Jones, in *Classical Philology* 13. 416-418.

One general comment on the Library may be made. I had always supposed that one purpose of the translations was to help readers whose knowledge of the Classics was slipping from them, in the pressure of life's occupations, to construe the Latin or the Greek. If I am right in that, then it must be said that some at least of the books utterly fail here. This may be said, for instance, of Principal Hutton's version of the *Agricola* and the *Germania* of Tacitus (see also Professor D. R. Stuart in *Classical Philology* 11.241-242), and even more sharply of the translation of Pliny's Letters. This version is described on the title-page as "An English Translation Revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson". I have seen this version praised, in a review, on the ground that

Melmoth was an ideal person to translate Pliny and his times ideal times in which to do it. Perhaps no modern translator could so closely imitate in English the artificial graces of Pliny's style; for Melmoth was just such a letter-writer as Pliny himself . . . and, on the whole, it is better to let a citizen of those days, when letter-writing was esteemed an art, turn Pliny into the classical English form than, in the twentieth century, to attempt to reproduce the manner of the eighteenth.

First, I note that the words quoted are a paraphrase of what Mr. Hutchinson himself says in his Preface (v) in justification of his translation! Secondly, to matters of style, perhaps, applies with special force the dictum *De gustibus nil disputandum*. I will not, therefore, dwell on the fact that Mr. Hutchinson's version induces in me a weariness which I have never felt in reading Pliny, tiresome as Pliny becomes (to me) if read in quantity. Thirdly, one indispensable quality of a translation surely is that it shall bear some sort of relation to the original. No reader should have the least patience with a version which repeatedly is hopelessly out of contact with the original. Any one who really studies Mr. Hutchinson's text and translation together will agree with this verdict, severe as it is.

I shall cite but a single instance, by no means an extreme case, 1.8.3-4:

ideo nunc rogo, ut non tantum universitati attendas, verum etiam particulas, qua soles lima, persequaris. Erit enim et post emendationem liberum nobis vel publicare vel continere. Quin immo fortasse hanc ipsam cunctationem nostram in alterutram sententiam emendationis ratio deducet, quae aut indignum

editione, dum saepius retractat, inveniet aut dignum, dum id ipsum experitur, efficiet.

But I now beg of you, not only to take a view of it in the whole, but distinctly to criticize it, with your usual exactness, in all its parts. When you have corrected it, I shall still be at liberty either to publish or suppress it. The delay in the meantime will be attended with one of these advantages, that while we are deliberating whether it is fit for the public view, a frequent revisal will either make it so, or convince me that it is not.

Is this a translation in the style of any century, eighteenth or twentieth? Will any one who, to understand the Latin, needs a translation, derive any real help in his efforts, from this version? To raise this question I have deliberately refrained from citing the many instances in which the Latin has been completely misrepresented.

C. K.

A STUDY OF DIETETICS AMONG THE ROMANS

(Concluded from page 61)

The use of food substitutes was also known to the Romans. Indeed, if we may trust the comic poets, this art was not an unfamiliar one to the Greeks. For in Euphron⁴³ one reads the story of a clever chef, Soterides, who deceived a king by his cooking. The season was winter, the sea far away, but the king of Bithynia was seized by a longing for anchovies. Soterides prepared and cooked turnips in such a way as to imitate the desired dainties, and so quenched the king's passion for fish. The more or less rigid regulations of the sumptuary laws must have started the custom of food substitutes at an early day at Rome, for these laws not only forbade the use of certain articles of diet, but also made the prices of other foods prohibitive, by setting a high value on dainties which were specially prized. If certain articles of diet were difficult to procure for certain occasions, were highly taxed or forbidden by law, one must find something to take their place. Moreover, the thing prohibited always becomes the thing desired; hence one must prevail on one's cook to prepare a dish which would resemble as closely as possible the forbidden dainties. We have Cicero⁴⁴ as our authority for the fact that as early as his day Roman cooks were fully capable of supplying Hoover recipes. In a letter to a friend, Cicero says that he has been ill for several days from partaking at dinner of vegetables which his host had had prepared instead of meat, in order not to contravene a recent sumptuary law. These had been so highly seasoned, and so palatable, that Cicero, who was very cautious when mushrooms or oysters were set before him, had been tempted to indulge his appetite too greatly. He concludes the letter by saying, *Ego, qui muraenis facile abstinebam, a beta et a malva deceptus sum. Posthac igitur erimus cautiore.* Martial⁴⁵ tells the story of a Roman cook, Caecilius, who was able to metamorphose a product of the garden in such a way that from it he supplied the material for the first and second courses,

and for the dessert as well. Then there is the story of Trimalchio's cook, Daedalus⁴⁶, who was such a wonder-worker that he served on his master's table a dish which at first sight resembled a fat goose surrounded by fish and fowl of all sorts, but all these dainties were cunningly devised from a pig. No doubt this skilful cook could have prepared the same things from the products of the garden if he had cared to do so.

In the present scarcity of sugar, it is interesting, at least, to remember that the Romans used honey for sweetening wine, making cake, and for all other purposes for which we commonly employ sugar. Apicius⁴⁷ says that meat may be kept fresh as long as one wishes by covering it with honey. With this device for preserving meat may be compared our own sugarcured hams. Martial⁴⁸ offers a substitute for meat. His suggestion is that if one wishes to breakfast economically without the use of meat cheese is excellent.

Even war breads are no new thing. In *The Classical Journal* 13.527 Professor M. E. Deutsch, of the University of California, calls our attention to the fact that in 48 B. C.⁴⁹, during the Civil War with Pompey, Caesar's supply of wheat gave out and hunger pressed hard on his men. Not only did the soldiers accept barley and legumes as substitutes⁵⁰, but they even made bread from an edible root which they discovered⁵¹.

The purpose of food substitutes on the occasion just mentioned was decidedly practical and patriotic. On other occasions it was to avoid the tax legislation of the sumptuary laws, which placed a high price on certain articles of food. The aim was often to provide imitations of delicacies which were forbidden by these laws, or were difficult to obtain on account of the season, or distance from Rome. Sometimes the purpose of food substitutes may have been merely to glorify the cook's art. This seems to have been the case in the story of Trimalchio's cook.

The more practical of the Romans aimed at the conservation of food. The Apicius, *De Re Coquinaria*, offers numerous recipes for preserving meat and fish, and for putting up fruit and vegetables of all kinds. Cato⁵² says that the housekeeper should diligently put up fruits of all varieties each year. He says also⁵³, 'Save the wind-fall olives as relishes for the servants', and again, 'Be careful to make the olives go as far as possible'.

Perhaps some are inclined to think that the science of dietetics is one which belongs particularly to the modern world, but both Greek and Roman physicians wrote on this subject. Hippocrates, Xenocrates, Galen, and Celsus may be mentioned. Marquardt asserts⁵⁴ that in the time of the Empire the Roman menu was arranged partly according to the many dietetic theories of the physicians. There is little doubt that opinions expressed by them and by the

⁴³See Meineke, 4.404.

⁴⁴Ad Fam. 7.26.

⁴⁵11.31.

⁴⁶Petronius, Sat. 69-70.

⁴⁷Caesar, B. C. 3.47-49.

⁴⁸Suetonius, Jul. 68.

⁴⁹De Agri Cultura 168.

⁵⁰Das Privatleben der Römer, 313.

⁵¹18.

⁵²13.31.

⁵³Pliny, N. H. 19.144.

⁵⁴Ibid., 58.

Elder Pliny influenced the more frugal of the Romans in the arrangement of their menu, both in regard to the food which it contained and the order in which it was served. A closer study of the writings of the Roman physician Celsus convinces one of this fact. The purpose of the *gustus*, the first division of a formal Roman dinner, was to aid the digestion as well as to whet the appetite. Now Celsus⁵⁵ gives a list of the foods which are especially helpful to the digestion; among other things he mentions lettuce, beets, mallows, asparagus, oysters, sea-urchins, mussels, onions, and fowl. If one were to examine a few examples of the *gustus*, it could be seen at a glance that these are the very articles of food which are found in that part of the meal. Furthermore, the drinking at a Roman dinner was in perfect accord with the theories of the dieticians. *Mulsum*, a honied wine, was drunk during the *gustus*, and the heavier wines were reserved until later in the meal. This was for purposes of digestion. Celsus says that *mulsum* should be served early in the meal, and in Athenaeus⁵⁶ one reads that men who drink hard before eating do not have good digestion. Horace says⁵⁷ that it is a mistake to mix honey with strong Falernian, and that it is wise to drink mild *mulsum* at the beginning of the meal.

In his work on medicine Celsus gives rules for both the sick and the well. A *sanus homo*, he says⁵⁸, should bind himself by no rules, has no need of a physician, and should observe variety only in his manner of life. Certainly the menu of a formal Roman dinner must have been varied enough to please even Celsus. In modern days we are still emphasizing the necessity for variety in the menu. A recent editorial in The Journal of the American Medical Association warns us to beware of the calorie, and of advertisements for cereals, or other foods, which make the boast that thirty-five cents worth of the advertised product will furnish three thousand calories a day. Regard for the calorie only, says the writer, is apt to lead to a one-sided regimen, and such standards of menu-making are objectionable.

However, while Celsus⁵⁹ advises variety in diet, he does not advocate a complex menu, for he says that the most advantageous diet for a man is a simple one. Multiplicity of tastes is injurious. Horace⁶⁰ likewise says that the menu should be simple. Two principles which the Romans believed should be followed in menu-making were variety and simplicity. The many menus which they have left us prove that they seldom neglected the former; while they often strayed from the straight and narrow path of simplicity, this wandering was not due to lack of knowledge.

Not only did the Romans believe in the wholesomeness of a vegetable diet in general, but they frequently mention specific vegetables to which were ascribed dietetic values. Lettuce in particular was considered very wholesome. Pliny⁶¹ recommends it as a dish

particularly suited for summer because of its cooling and refreshing qualities. Indeed, he even goes so far as to say that once, when the Emperor Augustus was ill, his life was saved by his physician Musa, who allowed him to eat lettuce. This vegetable was considered soporific, and appetizing, and was thought to increase the blood. Martial mentions lettuce⁶², beets⁶³, and mallows⁶⁴ as aids to digestion. Pliny says that onions⁶⁵ are good for the stomach, and that they act upon the spirits. Celsus⁶⁶ recommends many vegetables. He says that lettuce and snails are among the articles of diet quae stomacho aptissima sunt. Horace⁶⁷ as well as Celsus bears witness to the wholesomeness of mallows. Shellfish shared with vegetables and fruits a place among wholesome articles of diet. Pliny⁶⁸ says that oysters are refreshing to the stomach, and that they restore the appetite. Celsus⁶⁹ recommends oysters, mussels, snails, and sea-urchins. Diocles⁷⁰ says that the best of all shellfish as aperients are mussels, oysters, scallops, and snails.

Celsus⁷¹ considers also the comparative food values of different articles of diet. He thinks legumes and grains which can be made into bread the most nourishing of all foods. Second to these, but still very nutritious, are domestic quadrupeds, large wild beasts, all sea-monsters, among them the whale, also honey and cheese.

Not only did the Romans have special dietetic theories for the well, but they believed also that the ill should give careful attention to their food. Diet and medicine go hand in hand, says Celsus⁷². A method of treatment that cures by diet sometimes applies medicine, and one which combats a disease⁷³ by medicine especially ought also to apply a rule of diet. He recommends that it is wise for those who are not healthy to take at the beginning of the meal the fruits which in his day were served at dessert. He says, however, that if one's digestion is good dessert does no harm. *

In certain books of his Natural History, Pliny, quoting from Greek physicians, ascribes medicinal properties to many vegetables. Many diseases, he says, may be cured by onions⁷⁴, and even more by cabbage⁷⁵. To this common product of the garden Chrysippus devoted a whole volume. This is only the beginning of a long series of vegetables which possess healing qualities. Leeks are said to impart a wonderful clearness to the voice. The Emperor Nero⁷⁶ used leeks and oil on certain days for this purpose. At that time he abstained from all other food.

Pliny⁷⁷ recommends radishes, to be eaten raw with salt, for certain diseases of the diaphragm. Elecampane was considered very good for weak stomachs. According to Pliny⁷⁸, Julia Augusta ate it every day.

⁵²2.24.
⁵³1.1.
⁵⁴Serm. 1.6.114 f.; 2.2.70 f.

⁵⁵2.24.

⁵⁶Serm. 2. 4.24 f.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸19.127-128.

⁵⁹3.89; 11.52. ⁶⁰3.47. ⁶¹3.80. ⁶²20.43.
⁶³2.24. ⁶⁴Epod. 2.58. ⁶⁵3.2.64. ⁶⁶2.18.
⁶⁷In Athenaeus 3.32. Compare Horace, Serm. 2.4.27 f.
⁶⁸2.18. ⁶⁹5.1. ⁷⁰Celsus 1.2. ⁷¹20.30 f. ⁷²20.78.
⁷³Pliny, N. H. 19.108. Compare Catullus 44.
⁷⁴19.86. ⁷⁵19.91.

So firmly did the Romans believe in a system of dietetics that Pliny asserts⁷⁹ that food affected not only a man's health, but his disposition as well. Nor did they content themselves with merely giving rules for the sick and the well. They even took up the question of longevity. Pliny tells us⁸⁰ that many persons attained extreme old age by eating bread soaked in wine, and allowing themselves no other food. Pollio Romilius lived to be one hundred years old. When asked by Augustus how he had attained this venerable age, he replied, 'by honey within, by oil without'. Diet in relation to weight was also considered. Pliny says⁸¹ that the person who wishes to gain flesh will do well to drink while taking food, but that those who wish to 'reduce' should refrain from drinking.

Many of our popular ideas or current theories in regard to dietetics seem to reecho those of the Romans, or to be derived therefrom. Celsus⁸² says that there is more nourishment in bread than in any other food, especially in bread which is made from wheat. Pliny speaks⁸³ of the merits of *autopyrus* or whole wheat bread. Petronius⁸⁴ makes Habinnas, who has just returned from a funeral feast, say that he ate there coarse bread of unbolted flour and that he liked it better than the white, as it was so strengthening and was good for him as medicine. In connection with bread, however, one theory is found which is opposed to the popular belief of modern times, for Athenaeus⁸⁵ tells us that all bread is more wholesome when it is eaten hot than when it is eaten cold. We are rather surprised to read in Pliny⁸⁶ that water is more wholesome when it has been boiled, and that the best way to purify it is to boil it down to one-half. The Emperor Nero was aware of this fact; hence water for his daily draught was boiled, then cooled with snow. In contrast to the Emperor's luxuriousness there were even in those early days many medical men who asserted that the use of ice water, or its ancient equivalent, water cooled with snow, was highly injurious. An early edition of the Metchnikoff theory of sour milk and its beneficent qualities in prolonging man's life is probably found in Pliny⁸⁷. It is said, he writes, that Zoroaster lived in the wilderness thirty years, on cheese which was prepared in such a way as to render him insensible to the advance of old age. Celsus thought⁸⁸, as do many of our own day, that the use of highly seasoned foods was injurious, as people are tempted by their agreeable taste to eat too much and also because condiments are in themselves unwholesome. It must be said that, judging by our one Roman cook book, the Apicius, *De Re Coquinaria*, the Romans were addicted to the use of condiments, and so were in need of a word of warning as to their bad effects. Just a few which may be mentioned from this work on the culinary art are pepper, which was lavishly used, caraway, fennel, thyme, coriander, mint, rue,

parsley, mustard, anise, ginger, and last, but by no means least, assafoetida. There is found in Celsus⁸⁹ the current theory that sleep is promoted by lettuce and the poppy. To these soporific plants Celsus adds the mulberry and the onion. No reference is found to the carrot and its beautifying effect on the complexion, but in Pliny⁹⁰ one reads that onions impart a florid color. An apple a day keeps the doctor a way, says a modern proverb; in Athenaeus⁹¹, Diphilus recommends apples for digestion. In modern days Dr. Wiley tells us that the frying-pan is the greatest enemy of the American stomach. Celsus⁹² recognized this enemy long ago, for, in his directions for those who are not strong, he says that it is better for them to eat meat which has been boiled or roasted. I have not been able to locate in Latin literature any admonition to 'Fletcherize', but perhaps such advice was superfluous in a world where even those who were most miserly of their time spent three hours at dinner.

We may conclude, then, that, although the Greeks and Romans did not speak in terms of calories, vitamins, proteids, fats, carbohydrates, they did have a system of dietetics, which was not merely a collection of old wives' tales, but was in many respects quite sound. It may be counted as one of the many things for which the modern world is far more indebted to the ancient than it realizes at the present day.

THE HARCUM SCHOOL,
Bryn Mawr.

CORNELIA G. HARCUM.

THE REX NEMORENSIS

Very meager are the sources of our knowledge concerning the King of the Grove, the Priest of Diana of the Underworld at her temple by Lake Nemi, near Aricia. Everything which can be deduced, conjectured, imagined, or hazarded about him will be found in J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Volumes 1-2, particularly in 1.1-6. Not much else of any value exists in modern literature. In the *Athenaeum*, No. 3024, page 477 (October 10, 1885), is a valuable article, by Lanciani, on the Shrine of Diana Nemorensis. Something about the results of the excavations at the site of the temple will be found in the *Bulletino dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archaeologica*, 1885, 149 ff. Something more is in J. G. Hartung, *Der Religion der Römer*, 2.211-217 (Erlangen, 1836). In Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie* (Stuttgart, 1852), are two articles of some value: Aricia, I.2.1555; Trivia, VI.2.2147¹. Valuable also is what is said of Diana's Festival in L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, 1.278 ff. (Berlin, 1886). See, finally, W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, s. v. Diana, 1.1002-1011 (Leipzig, 1884). It should be noted, however, that the investigation on which this article is based terminated in July, 1914; something may have appeared since.

⁷⁹2.111.

⁸⁰2.18.

⁸¹11.242.

⁸²2.114.

⁸³2.138.

Compare Athenaeus 3.95.

⁸⁴Sat. 66.

⁸⁵1.2.

⁸⁶23.41.

⁸⁷3.83.

⁸⁸2.32.

⁸⁹20.42.

⁹⁰3.20.

⁹¹2.2.

¹The article Aricia, by Huelssen, in Wissowa's revision of Pauly, I.2.822-823, adds nothing of importance (Stuttgart, 1896).

Seven inscriptions have some bearing on our knowledge of the Rex Nemorensis. None of these can be said to tell us anything about him, but they refer to the cult of which he was hierophant, or to its temple. They are C. I. L. 3.1773; Orelli, 1453-1457, 2212. The genuineness of more than one of Orelli's sheaf is suspected.

Some 20 passages in 16 authors concern the Rex or the cult of the temple:

Cato (quoted by Priscian, Peter's *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, page 52); Dionysius 6.32; Festus, s. v. Manius; Gratius Faliscus 483-492; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 261; Martial 12.67; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 259-260, *Fasti* 3.263-272, 6.756; Pausanias 2.27; Servius on Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.116, 6.136, 7.515; Silius Italicus, *Punica* 4.366; Solinus 2.11; Statius, *Silvae* 3.1.52-60; Strabo 5.3.12; Suetonius, *Caligula* 35; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 2.305; Vitruvius 4.8.4.

In the scanty literature referred to above many more references will be found, but they concern Aricia or Diana or Hippolytus or Virbius, not the Rex.

Of the 20 references given above six are important: Cato; Gratius Faliscus; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.263-272; Pausanias; Servius on Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.136; Strabo. UNIVERSITY SCHOOL FOR BOYS, EDWARD L. WHITE.
Baltimore.

REVIEWS

The Greek Theater and its Drama. By Roy C. Flickinger. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press (1918). Pp. xxviii + 358. 80 Illustrations. \$3.00.

This book deserves the highest commendation. It is one of the most scholarly books in recent years on a classical subject. Professor Flickinger has devoted nearly twenty years to researches connected with the Greek drama. Even as a graduate student he published (1902) an article on The Meaning of *ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς* in *Writers of the Fourth Century* (Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago 6.13-26), and, later, a very important dissertation (1904) on Plutarch as a Source of Information on the Greek Theater (University of Chicago Press). For the last ten years there has not been a single year in which one or more important articles on the drama did not appear from his pen. I emphasize this to show that the present volume, which embodies these papers in revised form, though two-thirds of the book are new, represents the work of nearly a score of years. The book ought to appeal to all general as well as technical students of the drama, especially as it is written in a readable style and contains many medieval and modern parallels and quotations from many modern dramatic critics. It is a good sign that real works of scholarship can be produced in America even in war times.

The book is neither literary nor strictly archaeological. There are already many books and articles on the literary criticism of the Greek drama and there remains to be written a satisfactory book giving all the archaeological material bearing on the Greek drama. Pro-

fessor Flickinger's volume rather deals with dramatic technique and with the technical background and environment of the Greek drama. It lays special stress on the peculiarities and conventions and the technical aspect of the Greek drama, showing how the Greeks overcame and put to good use the physical limitations. After a long introduction, of 117 pages, intended primarily for the Greek student, dealing with the origin of tragedy and comedy and the Greek theater, come chapters on The Influence of Religious Origin (119-132), The Influence of Choral Origin (133-161), The Influence of Actors (162-195), The Influence of Festival Arrangements (196-220), The Influence of Physical Conditions (221-245), The Influence of Physical Conditions (Continued): The Unities (246-267), The Influence of National Customs and Ideas (269-283), and the Influence of Theatrical Machinery and Dramatic Conventions (284-317). Chapter IX (318-337) deals with Theatrical Records. The index of passages will enable anyone reading a particular play to turn to the pages where passages in that play are discussed, and the general index will be useful. The illustrations are in general excellent¹, though the archaeologist naturally wishes more variety and misses many important theaters and theatrical scenes.

In a review it would not be possible to discuss all the much-mooted questions taken up in this volume.

¹The very crude and inaccurate sketch map in Fig. 2 (where for example Attica is labelled "Attic" and the island of Elaphonisos is drawn as part of the Malea peninsula of Laconia) and the primitive plan of the Acropolis in Fig. 29 are exceptions. Some of the illustrations would have been improved if taken from better and more up-to-date sources. So Fig. 73 should have been reproduced, not from the antiquated drawing in Baumeister, but from Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 90, to which work (Pl. 48) credit should be given for the *Doris psykter* reproduced in Fig. 10 from Höber, who of course took it from that source. Fig. 4, which shows, on a Naples crater, preparations for a Satyr play, is likewise taken from Baumeister; nothing is said about Von Salis's excellent article on it, in the *Jahrbuch* 25 (1910), 126 f. For the British Museum clypeus by Brygus (31) also refer to Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. 47, rather than to Baumeister. For the theater at Priene (Figs. 63, 64, and 113, 115) there should be a reference to the official publication on Priene by Wiegand and Schrader, 235-257, and Pls. XVI-XVIII. The worst illustration is the last (333), an antiquated and inaccurate drawing of the statue of Euripides in the Louvre, with an alphabetical list of his plays, taken from Clarac. It gives an entirely inadequate idea of the original portrait of Euripides, and the inscriptions are wrong. *Ἀλκωνίς* (this is given by Professor Flickinger [332] with an E for H) and *Μελέαγρος*, are complete. There are traces of the title of another play after *Ἐρως*, and the name Euripides does not occur on the stone (compare Giraudon photograph 1515, or Alinari photograph, or Lippold, *Griechische Porträtstatuen*, 49, Fig. 5).

There are abundant bibliographical references throughout, and the latest and most significant works are cited. Unfortunately, two important articles in the *Jahrbuch* 32 (1917), 1-15 and 15-104, *Zum Ursprung von Satyrspiel und Tragödie*, by Frickenhaus, and *Die Herkunft des Tragischen Kostüms*, by Miss Bieher, were probably not accessible in time. That of Solmsen, on *Σιληνός, σάτυρος, τίττυρος*, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 30 (1912), 449 ff., as well as Kuhnert's article on Satyros and Silenos, in Roscher's *Lexicon*, and Bulle's *Die Silene* should have been cited and used in the discussion about satyrs. To the bibliography on the origin of tragedy (1) might be added Tieche, *Der Ursprung der Tragödie* (Aarau, 1915); Wilamowitz's introduction to his translation of Euripides's *Cyclops*, and his *Aischylos Interpretationen* (1914), 2 and 240 ff.; Levi, *Rivista di Storia Antica* 12 (1908), 201; Nilsson, *Die Dionysischen Feste der Athener*, *Jahrbuch* 31 (1916), 323; D. C. Stuart, *The Origin of Greek Tragedy in the Light of Dramatic Technique*, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 47 (1916), 173-204; and perhaps also articles in some of the dictionaries, such as Navarre's article on *Tragedia*, in *Daremberg et Saglio*. On the dramatic art of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Menander, the articles of Professor Post in *Harvard Studies* 16 (1905), 15 ff., 23 (1912), 71-127, 24 (1913), 111 ff. might have been mentioned, though perhaps Professor Flickinger did not think them important enough.

Suffice it to mention only a few points. Articles on the origin and development of the Greek drama will continue to be written so long as there is any interest in Greek; and until archaeology finds some conclusive evidence, the matter will be debated. Professor Flickinger discusses very sanely the ancient passages dealing with the origin of tragedy and comedy, especially those in Aristotle's *Poetics*, in which he rightly puts more trust than is put by Ridgeway and other modern writers, who transgress good philological practice in tracing tragedy back to ritual rites. He believes that tragedy did develop from the dithyramb and follows the traditional view that it was associated with the worship of Dionysus. He derives the name tragedy from the fact that the goat was the prize and was perhaps sacrificed by the winner. This seems very probable and was an ancient tradition, though certainly not earlier than the third century B. C., and the passage cited from the Parian Chronicle is a restoration, even if a very probable restoration. There is, however, also a distinct tradition that tripods were given as prizes (often on vases; compare *Archäologische Zeitung* 38 [1880], 182 f., Pl. 16; Graef, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis*, No. 654 A, Pl. 41). Frickenhaus, however, thinks that tragedy means goat-song and was named after the leader of the chorus of equine satyrs, who later themselves became goats like their leader, Silenus, who was originally a goat and who is so addressed in Sophocles's *Trackers*. In my article on the Greek drama in Hastings's *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, I favored Ridgeway's idea that tragedy was the song of goat-men, and I am still inclined to think that something can be said for the theory that the goat-satyr had something to do with the word tragedy, which first occurs in the time of Aristophanes, long after the time of the earliest vase with goat-satyrs (Fig. 9, about 450 B. C.). Representations of men in goat-skins or human goats occur even on Minoan seals, and men dressed as *tragoi* to impersonate a goat Dionysus may have performed in Dorian tragedy, whence the word may have been transferred to Attica, where the satyrs were of the Silenus type with human feet and may have been called *tragoi*. The *Etymologicum Magnum*, as well as a fragment of Aeschylus and a passage in Sophocles's *Trackers*, certainly refers to satyrs as goats. It would seem strange to name so important a branch of literature as tragedy after the goat as prize or sacrifice, and the analogy of such words as *κωμῳδία*, *κισθαρωδία*, *αὐλοδία* is against that interpretation of *τραγωδία*².

²The discussion (24 f.) of representations in art of Sileni and Satyrs is not entirely satisfactory. Only seven vases, namely those that are inscribed, are mentioned as representing ithyphallic Sileni, including the François vase, which is wrongly called (24) an amphora, instead of a crater. But there are many others even showing Sileni with horses' hoofs, though uninscribed, in the earlier black-figured ware (see for example, Sieveking, *Die Königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, Nos. 844, 868, 869, 894); but of Sileni or Satyrs with human feet there are countless examples on black-figured vases which date long before the red-figured vases of Duris and Brygos cited on page 31. Also in sculpture they exist, as for example in the *poros* gable of the old Dionysus temple, which dates before 500 B. C. (*Athenische Mittheilungen*, 11 [1886], Pl. 11).

Professor Flickinger believes that the usual view that tragedy developed out of the dithyramb through satyrdrama is incorrect and that tragedy and the satyrdrama are separate developments from the dithyramb, a theory which explains away many inconsistencies in the usual view but which still lacks definite proof. It is a pleasure to see that an English book on the theater at last accepts the idea that the Greek actors acted in the orchestra. Here we have the first detailed sympathetic presentation in English of Dörpfeld's views. Professor Flickinger's views with regard to the *proskēnion* and *paraskēnia* may have to be changed in view of the important work of Professor J. T. Allen, who will soon publish a monograph on the Greek theater of the fifth century (cf. J. T. Allen, *Key to the Reconstruction of the Fifth Century Theatre at Athens*, in *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 5. [1918], 55-58).

Professor Flickinger does not agree with Dörpfeld's idea that the Neronian stage belonged to the high Graeco-Roman type, but thinks, as Dörpfeld originally argued, that it was about four feet nine and a half inches high and that stone steps led from the orchestra to the center of the stage, as in the Phaedrus theater. But the frieze of the Phaedrus stage has the heads knocked off almost all the figures and the Neronian stage from which it came originally must have been much more than six inches higher. I am sure that Dörpfeld believes, as Professor Flickinger does, that the Nero stage did not project so far into the orchestra as the Phaedrus stage, even if he has not indicated it. At any rate that was his belief when I last heard him lecture in 1909.

The statement is made (86, 111) that Priene affords the sole instance of a Graeco-Roman hyposcenium having columns, but in many other cases there are columns and a proscenium in Greek theaters still used

The Würzburg clyx, with the inscription which is interpreted as a mistake for *σάτυρος*, though it might be some peculiar barbarian proper name. *Σάτυρος*, is wrongly said to be the earliest representation of a satyr in Attica (compare, for example, for similar figures, uninscribed, on earlier black-figured vases Nicole, *Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes*, No. 953, a black-figured pyxis with satyr and four goats; Graef, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis*, No. 654 A, Pl. 42; Pottier, *Louvre Album*, Pl. 63; Sieveking, op. cit., Nos. 840, 841, 878, 881, 898, 924, and many others). I am very suspicious of this inscription, and Professor Flickinger bases too much on this one doubtful case. If the Würzburg figure with human feet is a satyr, it confirms my belief that such figures which occur so frequently even on black-figured vases of the sixth century were known as satyrs. Even the red-figured clyx which I published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 21 (1917), 159 f. (to which no reference is made) and which I interpreted as a reminiscence of a satyr play has a satyr which, as that in the pediment of the Old Dionysus temple, is much nearer to the original ithyphallic satyr (compare Solmsen's etymology of satyr, l. c.) than any of Professor Flickinger's examples and is nearly as old as, if not older than, the Würzburg clyx, which might date later than 500 B. C. I am not sure that Fig. 9 (30), dated about 450 B. C., represents goat-satyrs. As Reich (cited by Professor Flickinger also) has suggested, they may be Pans in some such comedy as Eupolis's *Allyes*; Pan is represented with goat hoofs on vases as early as 500 B. C., a mode of representation that surely influenced such scenes as that in Fig. 9. As regards the five Attic vases (Figs. 12-16) which depict comus revelers, they are far different in style, some black-figured, others red-figured, and cannot all date about 500 B. C. (38). Fig. 13 might date as early as 550 B. C., though of course some black-figured vases continued to be made after the introduction of the red-figured style about 530 B. C. Some of the red-figured ones might be even later than 486 B. C.

or remodeled in Roman times, as at Assos, Thera (Athenische Mittheilungen 29.57 f.), etc. Compare especially Miletus, where the Doric columns in front are, in the lower smooth part, of red marble, in the upper channeled part, of black marble, and have white capitals (compare plan in *Archäologische Anzeiger* 21 [1906], 35). On page 88, in the discussion of the light the extant plays throw on the stage question, the writings of Professors Capps and White are cited, but the Munich prize thesis of Professor Pickard, which was published one year later, seems always to be overlooked in such bibliographies (compare an English version, *The Relative Position of Actors and Chorus in the Greek Theatre of the Fifth Century*, in *American Journal of Philology* 14 [1893], 68 f., 273 f.). On page 90, in the analysis of Aristophanes's *Frogs*, it is said that Dionysus and Charon direct their boat across the orchestra to where, in the center of the front row of seats, the priest of Dionysus and other functionaries always sat, but the stone chair in Fig. 45, to which reference is made, belongs to the time of Lycurgus, and it should be stated in the note on page 90 that the inscription is of the first century B. C. Otherwise the general reader will think that Aristophanes could have seen this chair of the priest of Dionysus and the inscription. It is stated (268) that the victors in the Olympian games received a palm branch, but the palm as a symbol of victory was unknown at Olympia (compare Tarbell, *Classical Philology* 3 [1908], 264 f.).

I wish there were space to discuss many other things in this excellent book. For example, Professor Flickinger does not agree with Professor Rees's dissertation, and thinks that the technique of almost every tragedy is explicable only on the assumption that the regular actors were restricted to three. He believes that there were two types of *eccyclema*, a butterfly valve, to the base of which a semicircular platform was attached, and a low, trundle platform. He believes in the use of masks, but is too suspicious of the cothurnus, and does not commit himself. About costumes too he says little.

Professor Flickinger has produced a new kind of book on the Greek drama and has done so remarkably well that we hope he will continue with his specialty and produce a much needed up-to-date book on scenic antiquities, an American Haigh. We should like also a completer account than is given in Chapter IX of the Theatrical Records, with the Delian and the Delphian choregic inscriptions, and all other inscriptions throwing light on the drama, such as, for example, the inscription telling how the Dionysus chorus of Euripides's *Bacchae* was sung in the Delphi stadium in later times, and many others, most of which are published by Wilhelm or in the *Inscriptiones Graecae* (I. G.), etc., to which Professor Flickinger everywhere wrongly refers as *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, the designation of the old Boeckh *Corpus*.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. DAVID M. ROBINSON.

Goethe's Estimate of the Greek and Latin Writers as Revealed by his Works, Letters, Diaries, and Conversations. By William Jacob Keller, Instructor in German in the University of Wisconsin. A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, at the University of Wisconsin (1914). Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 786, May, 1916. Pp. 191. 40 cents.

It is the aim of the writer of this monograph "to present in a manner convenient for reference and in an entirely objective way, all of Goethe's more important spoken and written utterances"¹ on Greek and Latin literature. The work has been called forth by the fact that scholars everywhere are recognizing more and more the value of Goethe's literary judgments and "are quoting his words as the final, or at least as a very weighty authority on matters of literature"¹.

The most obvious feature in this summary of Goethe's utterances is the amazing extent of his acquaintance with Greek and Latin writers, including not merely the universally acknowledged masters but, literally, scores of others, representing all periods in both literatures. He felt no prejudice against a writer who did not belong to the classical period, "da im dritten Jahrhundert so gut ein Genie geboren werden konnte wie im ersten"².

But it must be admitted that in ranging over so vast a field the poet made copious use of translations. As a boy he had studied Greek somewhat. He read the New Testament with ease, for his father required that parts of it be "recited, translated and explained on Sundays after church"³. That his knowledge of the language must, however, have been limited appears from a statement which he made⁴ at the age of twenty-one to the effect that he now reads Homer almost without a translation. Eighteen years later he writes⁵ to Carl August that he is hopeful about the progress of his zealous study of Greek, but he seems never to have regarded himself as having attained a real command of the language. Latin he knew better, though he confessed the weakness of his grammatical knowledge, having learned Latin as he learned German, French and English, "nur aus dem Gebrauch, ohne Regel und ohne Begriff"⁶.

The most attractive chapter in this thesis is naturally that on Epic Poetry, for Homer is the author who interests Goethe most continuously in the course of a long life. From his twenty-first year there are few years in which Goethe does not speak more or less often of his Homeric studies. Sometimes he is reading Homer every day: the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the delight of his youth and the refuge of his old age. Their truth to nature is the quality which he is forever praising.

Interesting is the impression made upon him by the first reading of Wolf's newly published *Prolegomena*. In a letter to Schiller, May 17, 1795, he writes⁷:

¹So Mr. Keller, page 5.

²Goethe's Werke (Weimar edition) III.3.244. The references to Goethe's writings made below are all to this edition.

³Keller, 8. ⁴IV.1.258. ⁵IV.9.161. ⁶I.27.40. ⁷IV.10.260.

Die Idee mag gut sein und die Bemühung respektabel, wenn nur nicht diese Herren . . . gelegentlich die fruchtbarsten Gärten des ästhetischen Reichs verwüsten . . . müssten.

Further reference to the matter appears also in one of the *Xenien* (264):

Sieben Städte zankten sich drum, ihn geboren zu haben;
Nun da der Wolf ihn zerriss, nehme sich jede ihr Stück.

By the end of 1796 he seems to have become somewhat reconciled to the new theory and in consequence he ventures into the epic field with his own *Hermann und Dorothea*. But, when the reaction sets in against the extreme views of Wolf and his followers, Goethe is plainly relieved and repeatedly expresses his approval. In a conversation with Eckermann, February 1, 1827, he says⁸:

Wolf hat den Homer zerstört, doch dem Gedicht hat er nichts anhaben können; denn dieses Gedicht hat die Wunderkraft wie die Helden Walhallas, die sich des Morgens in Stücke hauen und Mittags sich wieder mit heilen Gliedern zu Tische setzen.

In view of Goethe's own notable achievements in the field of lyric poetry his slight interest in this department of Greek and Latin literature is amazing. To Archilochus and Alcaeus he does not once refer; of Sappho and Catullus he makes little mention. In his youth Goethe is enthusiastic over Anacreon; Pindar is always highly esteemed by him. While he writes appreciatively of the epistles of Horace, notably so of the *Ars Poetica*, his admiration for the Odes is only moderate. He sees in Horace the man of the world, the critic, the correct poet, whose poetic talent lies only in his technic and diction "nebst einer furchtbaren Realität ohne alle eigentliche Poesie, besonders in den Oden"⁹.

By way of introduction to the chapter on Tragedy Dr. Keller has brought together Goethe's opinions on such themes as the subject of Greek tragedy, the difference between Greek tragedy and Shakspeare's drama, the three unities, the satyr-play. Here, too, one learns how fascinating Goethe found the task of restoring lost or fragmentary plays.

For Aeschylus he had a feeling akin to reverence but, on the whole, Sophocles probably stood next to Homer in Goethe's estimate of Greek writers. He had a growing admiration for Euripides in spite of his clear appreciation of that poet's faults. On rereading the *Ion* of Euripides, he exclaims in his diary¹⁰,

Und haben denn alle Nationen seit ihm einen Dramatiker gehabt, der nur werth wäre, ihm die Pantoffeln zu reichen?

This attitude towards Euripides may have been somewhat responsible for Goethe's moderate interest in the "*Hanswurst*" Aristophanes, the beauty of whose

lyric passages does not impress him as does the comic element in the plays. He is quite charmed by the scanty fragments of Menander, whom he finds "durchaus rein, edel, gross und heiter: seine Anmut ist unerreichbar"¹¹. From time to time he is interested in translations of Plautus and Terence, several of whose comedies were produced on the Weimar stage, among them the *Captivi*, the *Andria*, the *Eunuchus* and the *Adelphi*.

For the last forty years of his life Goethe was especially interested in Lucretius. This interest was stimulated by the fact that Knebel, who was working on his translation of Lucretius, was in the habit of submitting portions of the work to Goethe.

The Aeneid always suffered in Goethe's estimate by comparison with Homer, but after the journey to Italy, Vergil and Latin writers generally were more appreciated. From boyhood to old age Goethe felt the charm of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, though at one time Herder did much to spoil his friend's joy in that wonderful life of gods and demigods.

Of Greek and Latin prose writers the philosophers naturally make the strongest appeal to Goethe. In his youth he is drawn to Socrates, but in his maturity he comes to regard Plato, the man of "Geist" and "Gemüth", and Aristotle, with his "Forscherblick" and his "Methode", as forming with the Bible the three great foundations of modern culture¹².

His appreciation of the ancient historians is more general than particular. History as such seems not to have interested him. He read Herodotus and Thucydides for their style rather than their content and the story-teller seems to have impressed him more than the great historian. Exceptional is his enthusiasm for Plutarch, whom he reads almost more than any Greek author save Homer. Of Caesar, as a writer, and of Livy he has little to say, but Tacitus occupied his attention to a considerable extent.

From Professor Keller's valuable collection of Goethe's pronouncements on Greek and Latin literature one might cite many more examples, but the general results would not be materially changed. To Goethe, who had so much of the Hellenic in his nature, the Greek masterpieces held the first place, but he realized the special virtues of the Latin and their advantage in lying nearer to our own time¹³. He thought of both these literatures as the means by which we may receive all that was best in the ancient world and as the proper foundation of the higher culture, unsurpassed in their content, in their form supreme¹⁴.

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⁸Gespräche (Biedermann's ed.), 3.347.

⁹Gespräche 1.458.

¹⁰III.13.176.

¹¹Gespräche 3.203.

¹²I. 27.39.

¹³Gespräche 1.520.

¹⁴I. 36.331.

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